

R. Sherlock (T) 1011
A
R E V I E W

Of the Right Reverend the
Lord Bishop of BANGOR's
DISSERTATION IV.

W I T H

REMARKS upon a DISSERTATION
concerning the Unlawfulness of using
Horses and Chariots in War, amongst
the *Jews*, &c.

In a LETTER to * * * * *

Nec cauponantes Bellum, sed Belligerantes.
En. Frag.

Non amo nimis argutam Theologiam; *I love
no Doctrines in Divinity which stand so very
much upon Quirk and Subtilty.*
Archbishop Tillotson.

L O N D O N :

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A

R E V I M W

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THE
INTRODUCTION.

S I R,



W H E N you sent me *The Dissertation, &c.* you gave it a true Character. Tho' there is nothing advanced in the way of real Argument against the *Observations*, and tho' the manner in which it is written deserveth nothing but Contempt, yet I cannot forbear expressing a Satisfaction upon this Occasion. I have now an Opportunity to explain my Sentiments in a more full and exact manner; to do Justice to the Law of *Moses*, and the Character of the *Jewish Kings*.

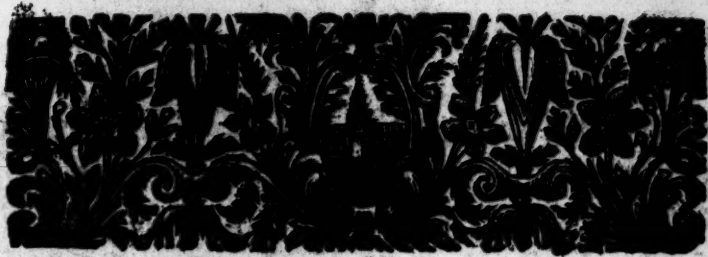
THIS Law was, indeed, burdensome, upon the Account of its many positive Precepts; but, by increasing these with such as have no Foundation in the reality

of Things, we unfairly suppose it to have been a much greater Grievance than it really was.

MANY of the *Jewish* Kings made Haste to fill up the Measure of their Iniquities; yet why should we add to the known Transgressions of the worst of them, the imaginary Crime of fighting with Horses and Chariots? But it is much more intollerable to suppose the best of them, persisting in the Violation of an exprefs and positive Law; to which, according to the Lord Bishop of *Bangor*, the Ruin of themselves and their People was, in a great Measure, owing. As such a Behaviour is wholly unbecoming good and worthy Princes, I assure my self of the good Wishes of all Men of Candour, whilst I am attempting to rescue such illustrious Names, from so severe a Censure.

N. B. THE Pages referred to are those in the third Edition of the *Discourses and Dissertations*. The Bishop's is, by this means, distinguished from the anonymous *Dissertation*.

THE Distance of the Author from the Press, and the Engagements of those to whose Care it was committed, are the Reasons of the Publication of the following Piece being so long delay'd.



A
R E V I E W

Of the Right Reverend the
Lord Bishop of *BANGOR*'s
D I S S E R T A T I O N IV.



HERE are several Liberties in which controversial Writers have long indulged themselves; to which the Author of the Dissertation will, perhaps, plead a Right by Prescription. I will not therefore attempt to dispossess him of this Privilege. The scornful and abusive manner shine so much throughout the whole Performance, that it is needless to point out the numerous Passages.

How much this Gentleman was affected with the Pride and Pleasure of being the Bishop's Second, appears from the

many illustrious Titles and Epithets, woven into the several Parts of his Piece: Warmed with these Imaginations, he saith:—*Perhaps^a the Vanity of appearing in Print against so great a Man as the Bishop of Bangor, carried the Letter-Writer into these unfair Methods of Opposition.*—But to proceed to the Subject before us.

WHETHER *Deut.* xvii. 16. hath been obscured or explained by a long Deduction of Particulars, let the Public judge. For there being here no Appearance of an express Prohibition of the Use of Horses in War, and for the ruinous Expence, which purchasing a Multitude of Horses occasioned; these Particulars are referred to another Place.

WHEN I assigned the Danger of Idolatry, as the Reason of their being restrained from returning to *Egypt*, this was not done in a positive manner, but in these Terms.—*Obser.* p. 6. “The Reason of this Restr[“]raint *seems to be* the Danger of Idolatry, if they renewed their Acquaintance with the *Egyptians.*” — There are fair Probabilities to support this Opinion, and, far from being confuted with what hath been offered, I am the more

confirmed.——It is granted, that *Egypt abounded with Horses, and those of the best kind,——the Egyptians were also the first who brought Horses into the Field.*——It was then to be feared least the *Kings of Israel should send the People into Egypt, rather than any where else, to buy Horses, and to learn how to manage them to the best Advantage in War^a.*

And yet afterwards;——*I cannot understand how the true Worship of God could suffer any Injury in Judea, from a Dozen or two of Fockeys going and coming, though we should suppose they would have been seduced by the Egyptian Superstitions^b.* But was there no Prospect of considerable Numbers of young Men, of the first Rank going thither to learn their Exercises, who, by this means, were in some Danger of being infected with Idolatry?

As to *Joshua xi. 6.* I need not spend much Time in justifying the Sense of which these Words have been supposed fairly capable, (*Observ. p. 6.*) Notwithstanding the Authorities produced, it is submitted to the impartial Reader, whether we are necessarily obliged to understand them as a Command. The Pro-

^a Page 8, 9.

^b Page 14.

priety of destroying these upon the Account of want of Skill, in those under *Joshua*, to manage them, was also urged in the same Place. To this it hath been replied :—*Could not Joshua and Caleb, and all those who were under twenty Years of Age, when they left Egypt,—put the People in the way of managing Horses and Chariots ? for certainly they had seen abundance of them in Egypt, and were not unacquainted with them. Besides, there's no doubt but their Fathers and the Egyptians, who followed them in great Numbers, brought in their Emigration some Hundreds (if not Thousands) of Horses, to carry Part of their heavy Baggage* ^c.

Is not this a wonderful Advocate for the Bishop ? when these Words are found in his Lordship's Dissertation.—“ It *may* “ *perhaps* be thought no Wonder that “ the People at this Time had neither “ Chariots nor Horses,; for where should “ they have them ^d ? ”—Is it not more reasonable to suppose *Oxen and Asses* were the Beasts of Burden they used ? Upon another Occasion, this would be strongly inferred, by this Gentleman, from the

^c Page 23.

^d Page 314.

Fourth Commandment, where these Animals are only mentioned. These Arguments receive an additional Force, from no Notice being taken, either accidentally or designedly, of their having any, in the Account we have of their long March through the Wilderness.—*Such a remarkable Silence comes up to a direct Proof, or else an universal Scepticism would be so introduced into History.*

How could a People, who were in the most enslaved Condition, and confined to the meanest Drudgery, become so qualified as to put others into the way of managing Horses? Upon the whole then, it had been wrong in *Joshua* to have preserved them, since they would have proved rather an Incumbrance than of any Advantage.

WHAT is said ^e, in answer to what had been remarked, relating to *David's* houghing the Horses, &c. (*Observ. p. 7.*) doth not require a long Answer. Horses and Chariots, indeed, after Battle, are more easily carried off, than Cannon and Ammunition. But how doth it appear this was not done, whilst the Army was engaged? However, *David* might have

Occasion for no more than for an hundred Chariots.

THE Animadverter is pleased to call what is said relating to *Gideon*, &c. *pitiful Reasoning* ^s: I shall, however, leave it to be compared with his Confutation; nor will I add any Thing to what was said (*Observ. p. 7.*) with regard to the miraculous Assistances which God afforded his People.

BUT the Case of *David* must not be dismissed, without adding a few Words. We are reminded of three different Enumerations of his Forces, from whence this Argument is formed.—*But there is in none of them the least mention made of Horses and Chariots, from whence it is natural to conclude, as the Bishop of Bangor hath done, he had none at all for the Purposes of War* ^h. But this Gentleman, a little before, found out Horses in the Wilderness, though there was no mention made of them; nay, though there are so many strong Probabilities which forbid us making such a Supposition.

IN order to the further clearing this Affair, I proceed to observe, that notwithstanding no express mention is made

of *Saul* and *David* having any, yet are we not destitute of fair presumptive Proofs.

WHEN *Samuel* describeth the manner of the King that should reign over them, he doth it in these Words, (1 *Sam.* viii. 12.)
 “ He will take your Sons, and appoint
 “ them for himself, for his Chariots,
 “ and to be his Horsemen, and some shall
 “ run before his Chariots.” Again, (Ver. 13.) “ to make his Instruments of
 “ War and of his Chariots.” Tho’ those for State may be here represented, yet Chariots for War are plainly included in this Description. *Saul* having these, may then very reasonably be inferred from hence; and doth it not follow that *David* had them, since they are supposed the future Equipage of all the Kings of *Israel*?

It will be said, perhaps, that all these Particulars set forth a Series of criminal Practices; and therefore the Iniquity of Chariots and Horses is, from hence, evident: But not all the Particulars, only the arbitrary manner, in which Things would be transacted, deserveth Blame. But this is a Debate which doth not belong to this Place. The Fact for which these Words are produced, seemeth undeniable, (*viz.*) that these Things were common to the Kings of *Israel* before the Days

Days of *Solomon*. That the Usage of them prevailed before then, appeareth from the Behaviour of *Absalom* and *Adonijah*, (2 *Sam.* xv. 1. 1 *Kings* xiv. 5.) How far the Scripture is from being exact in the mention of such minute and unessential Particulars, as Horse and Foot; appeareth from 2 *Sam.* x. 18. where they are called *forty thousand Horsemen*; but (1 *Chron.* xix. 18.) *Footmen*.

WHEN these Considerations are added to what was said concerning nothing being said of Horses, in the Muster of *Jehoshaphat's* Forces, (*Observ.* p. 7, 8.) this Matter will want no further clearing.

BUT let us attend to the Instances of *Jehoshaphat* and *Josiah*, which are considered by this Authorⁱ. *Jehoshaphat's* not being directly censured, is acknowledged; but yet to this his ill Success is ascribed; and then he proceeds to tell us, that *this Prince and Ahab were entirely routed at Ramoth Gilead.—Ahab*, indeed, lost his Life, but there is no Appearance of his Forces being routed, (1 *Kings* xxii. 35, 36.) As to *Jehoshaphat's* Character, it was said, (*Observ.* p. 8.) That his *Alliance with Ahab, and*

ⁱ From Page 27, to 37.

his joining himself with Ahaziah, &c. were all the Blemishes of his Reign.

To these the Animadverter hath added, the *High Places not being taken away*. This is proved from 1 Kings xxii. 43. and it is indeed repeated, 2 Chron. xx. 33. However, the Regard we owe to so worthy a Prince, will direct us to suppose this was only a Defect in the beginning of his Reformation, which was afterwards carried on to greater Degrees of Perfection; since it is also recorded, (2 Chron. xvii. 6.) *Moreover, he took away the High Places and Groves out of Judah*. And since he went thus far in other Things, it can hardly be supposed that he allowed himself in a constant Course of wilful Disobedience, in the Affairs of War.

BUT, whatever becometh of the Case and Character of *Jehoshaphat*, *Josiah's* Behaviour was not only blameless, but his whole Life was filled up with a Series of Actions, the most eminently virtuous and pious. Upon this Account, though some Interpreters have represented him as faulty, in going out against *Necho*, after he had received his Message, we should incline to the more favourable Opinion. But this seemeth to be fixed upon him by the Author before us, in order

der to countenance the Bishop's imputing to him a Crime of another Nature.

It was said, (*Observ. p. 10.*) *How can we then, for the sake of an Hypothesis, venture to suspect, or imagine, that the most eminently virtuous and pious of all Princes perished in his Iniquity, and received his mortal Wound in this wicked and unlawful Machine of a Chariot?* Complaint is made^k of using the Expression, *Perishing in Iniquity*, and this is treated as a Misrepresentation of the Bishop's Sentiments. But have we not much more important Reasons for Complaint? How hard is it to justify the ways of Heaven, with regard to this excellent Prince, if we suppose him to lose his Life, in the midst of a criminal Behaviour, and consequently to have no Time, no Space for Repentance. This Consideration alone should oblige us to renounce a Theory, which is attended with such shocking Inconveniencies.

THE Bishop's Words are as follow:—
That this was the true or the only Cause of his Misfortune, I dare not affirm; for I have, &c.—But this I see, that he was found in the Day of Battle not with

*the Equipage of a King of Judah*¹. How can this be affirmed, when, from the above cited Place in *Samuel*, it appeareth, that this was their constant Equipage? Where is the Loss of a Battle, or any other Misfortune, either directly or indirectly ascribed to this? If *Foram* and *Abaziab* lost their Lives, when they met *Febu* in Chariots, had they escaped by riding on Mules, or being on Foot? Besides, had not *Febu* Success, though he rode in the same Manner?

I ENDEAVOURED to prove *Solomon's* Horses and Chariots were chiefly designed for Pomp and Show, or for the Service of himself, and his Family and Attendance. Upon the whole it was concluded; "There was no reason to suppose all the greater Part, nay, or any of them, to be designed for the purposes of War," (*Observe. p. 11.*) It was expressly foretold and promised, that Peace and Quietness should be given to *Israel* in his Days, (*1 Chron. xxii. 9.*) and this is represented to be Matter of Fact, (*1 Kings iv. 25.*) In Contradiction therefore to such express Evidence, how vain

is it to urge—*Solomon's* prevailing against *Hamath-Zobab*, &c. ^m? As for *Hadad* and *Rezon*, they, indeed, did Mischief in *Edom* and *Syria*; notwithstanding this, it is probable, from the above Accounts, that they made no Inroads into the promised Land, and *Solomon* therefore seemeth to have made no Attempts to subdue them. He could then have no ill Success with Horses and Chariots, because there is no Appearance of their being employ'd in any military Expedition.

FROM *1 Kings* iv. 26, 27. there is surely fair Colour, to suppose twelve thousand belonged to his great Officers. The Animadverter assureth us;—*These were only Purveyors belonging to the Green Cloth* ⁿ. But why must they be treated as Persons of such low Rank, when one of them was married to *Solomon's* Daughter, (*1 Kings* iv. 11.) and another had Command over large Regions and sixty Cities, (*Ver.* 13.)

WHAT signifieth *the Challenge* ^o; for where is it once pretended that *Chariots were then in as common Use as Coaches are now-a-days*——? That they were common, is evident, but whether as

much as in our Days, is not material : And are not the Females of a Seraglio Part of the Retinue of Eastern Monarchs, when they travel ? Further, from the high Price of Chariots, 1 *Kings* x. 29. it seemeth probable, they were designed rather for Ornament and Show, than the Purposes of War.

THERE is a very remarkable Passage in the Bishop, upon *David's* only referring Horses for a hundred Chariots :—*Probably he retained them for his State, and might do it lawfully, without incurring the Guilt of multiplying Horses, which are the Terms in which the Law is conceived. Certain it is, he made no use of them in War, and so far he complied with the true Sense and Spirit of the Law*^p.—Thus *David*, who was a Man of War, certainly made no use of them in his Wars ; yet *Solomon's* were for his Wars, though we are assured his was a peaceable Reign.

AGAIN^q, *Jer.* xvii. 25.—*Is plainly a Description of a State of Peace and Security*,—tho' we have nothing expressly said concerning this State. I will not debate the Probability of this Interpretation ; but as to *Plainness* and *Certainty*

in these several Cases, how is this made out? What Consistency is there in such a way of Proceeding?

THE Animadverter hath offer'd what might give Occasion to infer these Words relate to a State of War; for if they, as we are told^r, are a *Description of the triumphal Entry, of Conquerors with the Spoils of their Enemies*,—is it not highly probable that these Conquerors made use of them in those Wars, from which they returned with Success?

It will not be altogether improper here to review King *David's* Character. What was said relating to it, is plainly supported by Scripture-Evidence. Why must I be *supposed to reflect upon his Misdemeanors, with a great deal of Pleasure*^r, more than the Animadverter, when he takes the same Liberties with *Jehoshaphat*? But to proceed.

I HAVE already proved, from the Instances of *Absalom* and *Adonijah*, that Horses and Chariots were not very uncommon in the Days of *David*. Of the former, the Bishop saith^r, *Which was plainly affecting the Pomp and State of a King*.—And yet his Lordship will have it a Matter of Importance, that—in the

^r Pag. 37.

^r Pag. 62.

^r Pag. 318.

Day of Battle we find him mounted on a Mule, the Colt of an Ass.—Again: Of David it is said “ He himself rode on a Mule, and provided no better Equipage for his Son on his Coronation Day.”—Sure it will not be pretended on the Behalf of such a Profligate as *Abfalom*, that this was done out of Regard to the Law of *Moses*; nor could this be owing to Necessity. Upon some Account or other it was most agreeable. He reckoned himself sure of Success, and had no Thoughts of an Animal, upon which he might most conveniently escape. As to the Case of *David*, it is far from being evident, that this was a meaner Equipage than a Horse. Notwithstanding their fine Breed of Horses; it is well known how much Mules are valued in *Spain*.

LET us, in the next Place, consider his Lordship's Account of *David*, as a Deliverer. He was the last who can be pretended to have been a Deliverer of the People. This Truth was seen by the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who, when he reckons up the ancient Worthies of his Country, shews up his Catalogue with *David*, as being the last to whom these Characters could be applied;

and after whom there arose none like him to save the People of Israel.—It is evident, it was not the Business of this Author to give a full Account of these ancient Worthies: Several of the Judges are not mentioned, as *Othniel*, *Ehud*, *Shamgar*, &c. nor *Deborah*; though, surely, she was as worthy of this honourable Distinction as *Barak*. This is the Case of those who lived before *David*; why then must they be excluded who came after him, though their Names are omitted? when it is evident, from the Actions which they performed, that they have an equal Claim to the Title of *Deliverer*.

THE Author, in mentioning these, had no respect to the Order of Time in which they lived; it happeneth, however, that the Prophets are here named in the last Place, by whose Direction and Assistance the Rulers of *Israel* and *Judah* became Deliverers. Even the idolatrous Kings of *Israel* were thus honoured and favoured. The Events which are recorded of them, are as considerable, as what happened in the Days of *David*, or the Judges, *1 Kings* xx. *2 Kings* vii. furnish us with Instances of this Nature. When the Bishop could not but reflect upon these, and other plain Evidences, he
deli-

delivered himself in this remarkable manner ^x.—*During this Period, we find that God had not utterly forsaken his People, but oftentimes gave them very signal Deliverances, which were not effected by their great Force.*—His Lordship had said ^y:—*It is very much to be remarked, that during this Period, (i. e. from the coming out of Egypt to the end of David's Reign) the People of Israel never suffered for the want of Force and Strength in War, they were often punished, as they often deserved it, for their Idolatry; but whenever they repented, and turned to God, their Deliverance did not wait for want of Forces.*——Where is the Difference in these Cases? They were equally delivered without the Assistance of great Forces; and, when they did not abandon themselves to Iniquity, how were they more abandoned by Providence, after the Days of Horses and Chariots, than before? Now how can *David*, consistently with these Concessions, be said to be the last who was a Deliverer?

AGAIN, it cannot be denied but that numerous and well appointed Armies were employed in the gaining of Victories, from the coming out of the Land of *Egypt*

^x Page 322.

^y Page 319.

to the end of *David's* Reign, as well as afterwards. In this manner were many of the Successes of *Joshua* and *David* obtained. So also *Saul* numbered three hundred thousand Men of *Israel* and thirty thousand Men of *Judah*, (*1 Sam.* xi. 8.) and yet this Salvation is ascribed to the Favour of Heaven, (*Ver.* 13.)

HERE it will not be improper to give a distinct Account of the Circumstances of the *Israelites*, during these two Periods. Notwithstanding what hath been offer'd, I am still of the Opinion, that their Sufferings and Misfortunes were as considerable in the former, as in the latter of those distinguished Seasons.

BESIDES being enslaved by many others for a shorter Term, *Jabin*, King of *Canaan*, mightily oppressed them twenty Years, (*Judges* iv. 3.) and the *Philistines* forty Years, (*Chap.* xiii. 1.) How terrible was the Rebuke of Heaven when they so suddenly lost two Battles; when their Priests were slain, and the Ark of God taken? (*1 Sam.* iv.) How perfectly must they be subdued, when there was no Smith in the Land? (*1 Sam.* xiii. 19.) In how uncomfortable manner were they governed, when the evil Spirit came upon *Saul*, who employ'd his Troops in hunting after *David*, and in his last Com-
bat

bat with the *Philistines*, lost his Life, his whole Army, and his three Sons, in one Day? Were not the first Years of *David's* Reign Calamitous to the People in general, upon the Account of his Contests with the House of *Saul*? How heavily was the Nation plagued, upon his numbering the People! Many were the Miseries which arose from *Abshalom's* Rebellion.

IF these and several other Particulars are considered, it will appear, that their Misfortunes are not to be dated from *Salomon's* Reign. These, indeed, were great and heavy, but other Offences are expressly assigned, as the Occasion of them; and nothing is ascribed to their supposed unlawful military Force. Can any Evil which beset this Nation be singled out, which Providence would not have thought it just and proper to have inflicted upon them, had they been perfectly innocent as to this Particular?

THE Sum is, whilst they carefully avoided the Sin of Idolatry, and other Abominations, they prospered; but, on the contrary, when they fell into these Crimes, they were delivered into the Hands of their Enemies. The ten Tribes, who were wholly abandon'd to Idolatry, without any Intervals of Repentance and

Reformation, were doomed to a perpetual Captivity. As the Inhabitants of *Judea* and *Jerusalem* did not repeat their Crimes in so constant and continued a manner, so, after seventy Years, they were delivered from *Babylon*, and restored to their own Land. Had I stated the Matter in this manner, I had escaped the Animadversions which are so kindly and smartly bestowed upon me*. It may further be observed, that their Deliverance from Captivity was a greater Instance of miraculous Goodness, than any other which happen'd to this People, from the Time of their coming up out of the Land of *Egypt*.

LET us now proceed to those Texts in the Prophets, whereby his Lordship hath attempted to prove, having Horses and Chariots in War, to be a criminal Practice*. As to the Passage in *Isai. ii. 7.* it was said, (*Osero. p. 11, 12, 13.*) *Let it be considered, how little Reason we have to understand these Words of unlawful military Preparations? Do they not represent the Pride and Luxury of these Times? for the Words which go before are these; Their Land is full of Silver and Gold, &c.—It is further observ'd, —The Children of Israel were to be a*

* Page 48.

* Page 323, 324.

People peculiar to the Lord their God: In order to preserve themselves so, their Correspondence and Commerce, with the neighbouring Nations, were to be as little as possible. Again; — These Directions also were properly given to the Princes of a Country, who, if they indulged themselves in these Particulars, would easily fall into exacting and oppressive Measures, in order to support such Expences.

To the first Part of these Observations the following Reply hath been offer'd: — These Words are rather a Proof of the contrary; for Money being the Sinews of War, that is the Reason why Silver and Gold are mentioned here jointly with Horses and Chariots, as they are equally prohibited by the Law, in Deut. xvii. And, as we have proved before, that the great Design of God in forbidding to multiply Horses and Chariots, was not to prevent Luxury, the same may be applied to the multiplying of Silver and Gold; for the Kings of Israel were no more to hire Troops in distrust of God's Assistance, than they were to multiply Horses. —

THESE Words then are a Description of military Preparations, and have nothing

to do with Luxury and Vanity. But is such an Interpretation as this, only contrived to support an Hypothesis, to be admitted? Is any thing of this to be found in the obvious and plain Sense of the Text? The Proofs should have been express and clear. That the Words relate only to War, should have been made out, from their being delivered in this determined Sense. This is incumbent upon the Producers of them; and not upon me, to make it appear, that they belong to another State of Things.

THE short and true State of the Case is this: We find the best and worthiest of the Kings of *Judab* made use of Horses and Chariots: Now had this been a Violation of a positive Law, *Jehoshaphat* and *Josiah* would have been as expressly censured, for this Part of their Behaviour, as *Saul* is for offering the Burnt-offering, (1 *Sam.* xiii. 9, 13.) or *Uzziah* for going into the Temple to burn Incense, (2 *Chron.* xxvi. 16.) When therefore the Land is said to be full of these Things, it plainly followeth that they could have no relation to War; they only represent the vain Pride and Pomp which then prevailed. Further, when they are mentioned in their Wars, it would have been natural and just, there to have set a Mark of Infamy upon
upon

upon them. But since this is not done, how unreasonable is it to collect these Marks, from the general Accounts which are given of the Iniquities, which prevailed in the Days of the Prophets.

PRIDE and Trust, in Riches, in Men, in Horses, and Chariots, or in any other outward Advantages, are represented, in Scripture, as provoking and offensive to Heaven. But yet we are allowed to employ all these, in all Instances where they may be serviceable, provided we are guilty of nothing which is faulty in the manner of doing it. We are also to remember, that every Benefit arising from hence, is owing to the Favour of divine Providence. Since this is evidently the Case, to what reasonable Purpose have such Places been quoted by the Bishop: As *Psal. xx. 7.* “*Some trust in Horses, and some in Chariots, &c..*” And by the Animadverter^a, (*Psal. xxxiii. 17.*) “*A Horse is a vain Thing for Safety, &c.*” —From such Expressions, are not the Proofs as strong against Foot as against Horse? In the most severe and solemn manner, Trust in Man is censured by the Prophet, (*Jer. xvii. 5.*) “*Thus saith the Lord, Cursed be the Man that trusteth*

"in Man, and maketh Flesh his Arm,
 "&c."—Upon the whole then, doth it
 not plainly appear, that it was unlawful
 for the *Israelites* to make use either of
 Men or Horses?

BUT the most extraordinary Thing is,
 the way of arguing from Money being the
 Sinews of War. In the same manner,
 Jewels, or any other valuable Commo-
 dity, are proved to be so; and, in pro-
 ceeding by such Steps, might it not be
 inferred, that all the expensive Ornaments
 of Pride, mention'd in *Isai. iii. 18, 19, &c.*
 were reprov'd, because the Ladies might
 convert them into Money, in order to
 hire Troops? This seemeth to be strongly
 countenanced, from what is added, (*Ver.*
25.) *Thy Men shall fall by the Sword,*
and thy mighty in the War.

(HOSEA XIV. 3.) *We will not ride upon*
Horses, was quoted by the Bishop^e. I
 thought what was offer'd, (*Observ. p. 13.*)
 to which the Reader is referred, abun-
 dantly sufficient. But because this is in-
 sisted upon with some kind of Triumph,
 by the Animadverter^f; I add, as these
 Words contain the Confession of a peni-
 tent People, is it not most natural to ex-
 plain them in this manner?—"I will

“ lay aside the Pride and Pomp of Horses;
 “ and will walk humbly and lowly be-
 “ fore thee.” This is at least as proba-
 ble as renouncing them for the Purposes
 of War. Pretending to Certainty in the
 Interpretation of this, and several other
 Places in this obscure Prophet, is no pro-
 per Recommendation of any Performance
 to the Public. Besides, it doth not seem
 to be a very regular way of proceeding,
 to found Opinions upon, or to support
 them by such dark Hints.

WHAT followeth, it is hoped, will be
 allowed to be a fair Representation of
 what we have before us. *Moses* did not
 forbid the *Israelites* the use of Horses and
 Chariots, because this would take them
 off from a proper Trust and Dependance
 upon the supreme Being. Large Bodies
 of Infantry, well armed and disciplined;
 fortified Cities and strong Holds, are
 equally likely to dispose to an impious
 Confidence. The *multiplying* of *Horses*
 is only forbidden, not the having or the
 using of any. But if the Words are a
 Prohibition of the Thing it self, do they
 not relate as much to Peace as to War?
 The Term *Multiply*, is therefore to be
 understood in its natural and literal Sense;
 and why this was improper at all Seasons,
 I shall now endeavour to explain.

THAT

THAT the *Israelites* were confined to the promised Land, and were to make no Settlements abroad, was supposed, but not in a positive manner, (*Observ. p. 16.*) I leave this to be compared with what is offered by way of Reply*. Garrisons and Colonies are very different Things; and placing Garrisons in the strong Holds, was not, as this Author wittily represents it, shutting up Soldiers like *Hens in a Coop*. Now since they were thus circumscribed, and were not allowed to establish a wide-extended Empire, after the manner of the mighty Conquerors of the Earth; a small Number of Horses and Chariots was sufficient for their purpose. The *Egyptians*, *Assyrians*, and other Eastern Nations, led out a numerous Cavalry in their long Marches; the Propriety of this is evident. By this means also they wasted and destroyed, in a more expeditious manner, the Countries which they invaded. But this was not the Case of the chosen People.

To have multiplied these for Pomp and Show in Time of Peace, would have been a ruinous Expence, because for these they would naturally go to their Neighbours. This is granted:—*If Solomon, and his*

*Successors, bad Horses brought from A-
broad, 'twas not because they could have
no Breed in their own Country, but be-
cause those from Egypt were much finer
and much more valuedⁿ. It had been
before observed how far the Breed of
Horses was from being difficult in the
Holy Land.—This is the Connexion of
what immediately followeth.—So there
was no Necessity that, in order to have
Horses, the Jews should keep a Correspon-
dence with the neighbouring Nations, nor
the least Danger that to support such
Expences the King should oppress the
People.—Are such Concessions and such
Assertions perfectly consistent? He pro-
ceeds: But here mind how the Gentleman
shifts and runs from one Argument to ano-
ther! &c.—I desire the Reader may be
reminded of this Imputation. Am I not
at Liberty to assign as many distinct
Reasons as I please, provided there is no
Inconsistency or Contradiction in them?*

*To return to our Subject, that there
were Vallies and Plains, is not denied,
but that the Country of Judea, especial-
ly near Jerusalem, was generally moun-
tainous, is notorious. In answer to what
is said;—As to reading the Scripture, or*

having any Tincture of Geographyⁱ, I will only quote the Words of the very judicious Mr. Maundrel^k.

—“ ALL along this Day's Travel
 “ from *Kane Leban* to *Beer*, and also
 “ as far as I could see round, the Country
 “ discovered quite a different Face from
 “ what it had before: Presenting nothing
 “ to view in most Places, but naked
 “ Rocks, Mountains, and Precipices; at
 “ sight of which, Pilgrims are apt to be
 “ astonished, and baulk'd in their Ex-
 “ pectations.” —

HE here goeth on with other Objections, and then offereth several reasonable Solutions, which end thus:—“ Why
 “ then might not this Country very well
 “ maintain the vast Number of its Inha-
 “ bitants, being in every Part so produ-
 “ ctive of either Milk, Corn, Wine, Oil,
 “ or Honey, which are the principal Food
 “ of these Eastern Nations.” —

WAS it not then proper and necessary to fill their Pastures with more profitable Cattle than Horses? Is it not evident how ruinous an Expence the purchasing of them must prove to a People, whose foreign Trade was so inconsiderable; and what a Hardship must it be to the Subject when the Prince multiplied these?

ⁱ Page 43.

^k Edit. 2. Pag. 64, 65, 66.

It hath been said in Answer ;—*Had not Solomon a great Number of them brought from Egypt, and yet the Nation was never richer than under his Reign*¹.

—To which the Reply is easy ; whatever might be the Case of the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, the Nation in general was much oppressed. Did not the People, upon this Account, immediately after his Decease, petition for a Redress of Grievances ? And did not *Rehoboam's* rough Answer give *Jeroboam* an Opportunity to separate the ten Tribes from the House of *David* ?

I PROCEED to consider the Prohibition, with regard to the multiplying Gold. Is the carrying on a considerable Trade consistent with this Law ? The particular Texts which are quoted^m, (*Isai. xxxiii. 8.* and *Ezek. xvii. 4, &c.*) do not answer the Purpose for which they are produced, and all the Shew of Reasoning is far from proving what is designed^m. *David*, indeed, by Conquests, collected large Treasures ; and to these *Solomon* added very considerably, by the Ships which he sent to *Ophir*. But, when we have these Accounts, we are, at the same Time, informed of the particular Views they had.

¹ Page 61, 62.

^m Page 61.

These were designed for the building and the ornamenting the House of God. After their Days, we read of no such Commerce being carried on. *Jeboshaphat* made Ships at *Ezion-Geber*, but was disappointed in his Project, *2 Chron. xx. 36, 37.*

BUT what need I urge this Matter any further, having so important an Authority on my side, as his Lordship's worthy Father, the late Dean of *St. Paul's*? In his *Sermon upon the Charity of lending without Usury*, his Words are as followeth:—"For, indeed, among the *Jews* " who were no *Merchants*, nor maintain'd " any *foreign Trade* with other Nations, " no Man had occasion to borrow Money," (*Pag. 149.*) How can it be said, —They had in their Hands the Trade of the *Mediterranean*,"—when this was engrossed by the City of *Tyrus*? (*Ezek. xxvii.*) Here again I am happy in having the same Support:—"This I take to be " the true Reason why the *Jews* were " permitted to take Usury of Strangers, " but not of their Brethren, because their " Heathen Neighbours were Merchants;" as is plain of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, *Isai. xxiii.* (*Pag. 250.*)—Is there any Occasion to repeat an obvious Observation, (*viz.*) that

all these Restraints were laid upon them, upon a moral and religious Account, in order to preserve them from the vitious Customs, and idolatrous Practices, of the rest of the World.

IN clearing such plain Points, I am afraid, I have already been too tedious; I must, however, intreat my Reader to exercise a little Patience, whilst I add some Considerations upon other Particulars in the Bishop's Dissertation, of which no Notice was taken in the Letter. His Lordship's first Reflection^o is this:—
The Law given to the Kings of Israel, considered together, with the History of that Nation, forms a very strong Presumption for the divine Original of the Law of Moses.—

WHETHER this is a proper way of dealing with an Author, who is supposed to have advanced several Things against the divine Original of these Laws, I submit to the Friends and the Enemies of their sacred Authority. This may surely be established by plain and strong Proofs; why then should Arguments be offered, which seem to have no Foundation in the Truth and Reality of Things?

BUT it is added : — *Supposing Moses to be a mere human Legislator, like Solon or Lycurgus, what could tempt him to forbid the Princes of his Country the use of Horses and Chariots for their Defence?* — I am far from having so low an Opinion of *Moses* ; however, in this Instance, there are political Considerations, which might move him to forbid the Princes of his Country, having great Numbers of Horses and Chariots : I say, great Numbers ; for it must here again be insisted upon, that they are not forbidden *the having any*, but only the *multiplying of them* ; and the Complaint in the Prophet is only against their Land being *full* of Horses, and there being *no End* of their Chariots. Since, after their Settlement, they were to begin no new Wars, and were only to fight, when obliged, in their own Defence ; since they were not to lead out their Troops to remote and distant Conquests, a numerous Cavalry was far from being necessary : But these and other Particulars relating to this Subject, have been already consider'd.

I THEREFORE proceed to make some further Observations upon Infantry and Cavalry. That the former are the most important Part of a Militia, and that the most considerable Actions have been performed

formed by them, appeareth from the History of all Nations. The contrary Supposition runs throughout the Bishop's Dissertation, and particularly belongeth to the Reflection before us. That I may not be charged with Presumption, for contradicting so great a Name; I will produce an Authority, which, upon this Occasion, deserveth surely to be regarded more than his Lordship. For an eminent Politician, and an able Minister, in Matters of War, may fairly be supposed to be more skilful than a Prelate. Sir *William Temple*, in his Essay upon heroic Virtue, delivereth himself in these Words ^P. — *The last Remark I shall make upon this Subject is, that the conquering Nations have generally been those, who have placed the Strength of their Armies in their Foot, and not in their Horse; which have never, till these later Years, been esteemed capable of breaking a firm Body of Foot.* — This is illustrated in what followeth, and Objections are answered; to which, because I would not be tedious, the Reader is referred.

IN those Ages of the World wherein Iron was very scarce, Horses could not be so serviceable as they are now. Shoe-

ing with Brasses must be uncommon, and could not so well answer the Purpose. This was plainly in view, (*Observ.* p. 15.) though the Animadverter pretends *he cannot tell*, &c. ^a. Allowing it to be certain that the Ancients had the Secret of hardening the Hoofs of Horses ^r;—yet will not this prove them so prepared, equally fit for marching or fighting. The want of them then would not have been so great an Inconveniency in those Ages of the World, as in modern Times.

Now suppose the *Jews* replaced in their own Land, under their former Circumstances, would it not be good Policy, even in our Days, to have a good Body of Infantry, and not to attend to the needless Expence of great Numbers of Horse, since a few of these would be sufficient for their Purpose? God Almighty therefore, by such a Regulation, provided for their Security, in the most effectual manner. By attending to the Words of this Law, they were restrained from a ruinous Charge, both in Peace and War. A prudent and just Consideration of Things, should have dictated to them such a Behaviour; but as the Perverseness of this People was known to Hea-

ven, Providence kindly interposed, in order to their practising what was so agreeable to their real Interest.

THE Application the Bishop maketh of his Doctrine, is in this manner:—
The King foretold by the Prophet, was moreover to be just, meek, and lowly; but how could he have deserved this Character, had he appeared, in the Pomp and Pride of War, surrounded with Horses and Chariots, in direct Opposition to the Law of God?—And afterwards:—Plainly shewing, that the Character given of the Messias, that he should ride on an Ass, was in Opposition to the Pride of their warlike Kings:—
 What relation the manner of the *Messias's* Entry could have to warlike Kings, and why he is opposed to them, is inconceivable. When he entered in Triumph into *Jerusalem*, he did it not as a *Warrior*, but as a *peaceable Prince*. This fundamental Error turned his Lordship's Thoughts to the manner of making War, and this produced the Dissertation; which, I hope, hath been sufficiently proved to abound with a Series of Mistakes.

WHAT followeth, it is hoped, will be found to be a true Representation of

the Case. " He appeared not in the
 " Pomp and Magnificence of the Princes
 " of the House of *David* with Horses
 " and Chariots: He did not make use of
 " this way of rendering himself confi-
 " derable; such was his Self-denial, that
 " he would not appear in this manner;
 " which, far from being in Opposition to
 " the divine Laws, is promised, as the
 " Recompence of a stedfast Obedience
 " and Regard to them, (*Jer.* xvii. 25.)
 " But this would not have been becoming
 " in him, the whole of whose Life was
 " made up of Self-denial, and who de-
 " clared his Kingdom not to be of this
 " World."

I MUST entreat the impartial Reader to review, *Observ.* p. 20, 21, 22. and then compare it with the Animadverter's concluding Answer.—*Can that be esteem'd a proper Rule for regulating the Opinions and Practices of the Princes of Israel, about three thousand Years ago, which is so difficult to be understood in the Year of our Lord, 1733, &c? What is this but an empty ridiculous Declamation, calculated for no other view than to impose upon People of a weak Understanding.*—This Gentleman preserveth his Character excellently well;—*Qualis ab incepto processerit, & sibi constet.* Upon the
 the

the Terms of Civility, I make now no further Reflections ; to the Appearance of Reasoning, I reply,

WHATEVER was a proper Rule for regulating the Opinions and Practices of the Rulers and People of *Israel*, three thousand Years ago, if it was then plain and evident, (which it must be, in order to its being a proper Rule) it must be clear and intelligible, at any Distance of Time. Is it not as evident now as it was then, that Swines Flesh was forbidden to be eaten, and that it would have still been a higher Offence to offer these Animals upon the Altar ? And now let the World judge, who is most likely to have a Design to impose upon People of weak Understandings.

REPROOFS for want of Decency, come with an ill Grace from one, who hath been so far from setting a good Example by his manner of writing. I will, however, consider some of his heavy Complaints.—*And why must the Trouble and Pains his Lordship hath taken to clear this Command, be made a Crime to him, or a Subject of Reproach ?*—— This is hard, when it is declared in the

strongest Terms.—*Far be it from me to impute to your Lordship a design of exposing the holy Oracles, &c.* (Obser. p. 20.)

I know some People, of high and low Fame, who would tofs about with much Derision, Trouble, Pains, and Clearing; but I leave this Method of Irony to —.

He setteth out with rebuking me ^u for treating the Bishop's Dissertation,—*as a Work wherein a great deal of Fancy and Imagination had been employ'd*;—and for proposing to enquire *how far this fair Shew was agreeable to strict and severe Truth, &c.*—These, and what

follow, are called *unworthy Reflections* ^w. Now had I judged his Lordship's Performance, agreeable to the Principles of Truth and right Reason, I might justly have been charged with Wickedness, as well as Vanity, for appearing in Print against so great a Man. And did not such a way of treating the Scriptures, as his Lordship hath indulged himself in, appear to have a bad Tendency, it would, perhaps, have been busy and troublesome to have offered any Thing to the World upon this Occasion. Is it then abusive to offer *such Apologies*, for the Liberty I

^u Page 2.

^w Page 3.

have taken in contradicting so *illustrious* a Name?

SOME Years ago, when the Bishop was only a Presbyter of our Church, he had a Controversy with one, exactly in the Station wherein he is at present. If clear and strong Reasoning, and engaging in Defence of the temporal and spiritual Rights of Mankind, giveth the best Title to the Character of an *illustrious Prelate*, the then Bishop of *Bangor's* Claim to this Honour will appear as well founded, as any Thing which can be produced, on the Behalf of the present. When Dr. *Sherlock* thought his Predecessor had deliver'd some disagreeable Notions, he readily, and without any Apology, treated him in such Language as followeth.

BUT all this could not restrain his Lordship from writing down the Religion of Oaths; for this only Reason, because it stood in his way. A Reason which hath often carried his Lordship into great Extrems. I remember once when he was urged, in a Dispute about Government, with the Example of our blessed Saviour's Sufferings, as applied by St. Peter, he made no Scruple to affirm,—That the Example of our Lord is much more peculiarly fit to be urged to Slaves, —than to Subjects. (Answer to Atterbury,

bury, p. 65.)—*A Doctrine which will make the Ears of a Christian tingle, and ought to make him read, with Caution, a Writer so fond of his own Notions, as to take such Steps to defend them; (The Conclusion of the Vindication of the Corporation and Test Acts.)*

IN Defence of this Passage, a Pamphlet was written with this Title, *The Condition and Example of our blessed Saviour vindicated, in Answer to the Bishop of Bangor's Charge of Calumny;—* where we have the following Reflection on the Bishop's Words, (*Page 13.*) Words which *he hath too much Sense to defend, and too little Ingenuity to retract.* I only mention these among many others equally glaring; to the whole of these two Performances the Reader is referred.

THOUGH the Animadverter will not excuse, it is hoped his Lordship and the Public will treat in a different manner what hath been represented, as a most intollerable Offence; For had I taken much greater *Liberties*, I have the most *illustrious* of all Precedents, his Lordship's own Conduct for my Justification. This mighty Second expecteth I know not what; but surely his Lordship must be *fully satisfied*, since I have really given him higher Dues, than he ever *pay'd*
or

or pretended to *pay*, and as much as the strictest Laws of Controversy require.

IT had been much more material to have returned a distinct Answer to the last Particulars of the *Observations*, &c. than to have finished with such masterly Strokes of his Art. Since I am so near finishing, I hope, I shall be excused for repeating here what followeth:——

“ If the Law, as it now stands explained
 “ in your L——p’s Dissertation, had
 “ been so understood by the Penmen of
 “ the Books of the *Kings* and *Chroni-*
 “ *cles*, must they not expressly have cen-
 “ sured a whole Series of Monarchs, who,
 “ in their Management and Behaviour in
 “ War, so notoriously departed from
 “ this Precept of the Law? In the best
 “ Characters which are given of the
 “ Kings of *Israel*, it is generally added,
 “ that from the Sins of *Feroboam*, the
 “ *Son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin,*
 “ *they departed not.* Why then, in the
 “ History of the Kings of *Judah*, is it
 “ not once observed? Howbeit, from
 “ the ways of *Solomon*, in having *Horses*
 “ *and Chariots*, who thus made the In-
 “ habitants of *Jerusalem and Judea* to
 “ *sin*, they departed not.”

Conclusion of the Observations.

FROM

FROM hence, and from what hath been said, in answer to the Animadverter's concluding Invective, a sufficient Reply may be collected to what is attempted *.

I THINK, I have now fairly entered into every material Particular, relating to the *Bishop's Dissertation*. In the managing this Controversy, notwithstanding many repeated Provocations, I have endeavoured to avoid all Reflections. What are here thrown together, could not well be omitted, and will be excused, being purely defensive. The Truth and Reason of Things are so plainly on the Side in which I am engaged, that I have been under no Temptation to use such *foreign Aids and Assurances*. I suppose, I have now done with a Debate, which must be dry and tedious to most Readers: If any Thing should be produced deserving Notice, it must come from a Writer, whose Temper of Mind, and Turn of Understanding, are very different from what appeareth in the Author of the *Animadversions*.

I CONCLUDE with offering some Remarks upon a Passage in p. 65.—*Is not this Railing, instead of returning what*

is due to the great Parts and useful Performances of that illustrious Prelate?

—To the Charge of *Railing*, no other Return is necessary, than referring to the Place upon which this Pretence is founded, and to what hath been already replied. Had we Leisure and Inclination, it might easily be made appear that others of his Lordship's Performances are almost as *useful*, as what we have under Consideration. At another Time, this may, perhaps, be undertaken. But the unpardonable Sin consisteth, in a concealed pitiful Writer's *publishing a Letter to an illustrious Prelate, of great Parts.*

AMONG the gay and polite World, these Things may sound well; as for us old Fellows in a Corner, we are little affected with Affairs of this kind. How often have we known it to be the Fashion to applaud the Parts of several *smart Writers*, who, by this means indeed, have blazed for a while; but the Humour soon weareth off, and then they, and their Performances, are doomed to a just Oblivion. Titles and Distinctions in public Shews and Assemblies, are properly regarded, but the Commonwealth of Letters takes no Notice of, nor payeth any Homage to them. Whoever esteemed it a material Circumstance of any Composition,

position, whether it was written in a Cottage, or a Palace; by a Man in Rags, or one in gorgeous Apparel? But it is trifling to insist upon such evident Truths. Nothing now remaineth but to ask pardon for being so tedious.

I am, &c.

Coventry,

June 11, 1733.



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